1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

243 [252]

for several weeks. At the end of this time the poison is supposed to be washed out, and the product is dried and eaten.

thinifin, peas, *ibauen*, broad beans, and *er athis*, lentils, like *shasana*, are grown as grains.

241 805 T93

The Calendric Cycle of Agricultural Events. Agriculture in the Rif and in the Senhaja country is conducted on the basis of the old Roman calendar, the names of the months surviving in a form very little altered from its original character. I was unable to transcribe these names exactly since I could find no one who knew them accurately and was willing to reveal them. Knowledge of them is confined to the *fkih*, the preceptor or religious head of each group of villages, and to his students. The *fkih*, while delivering sermons at the mosque on Fridays, reveals the agricultural program for the following week and tells the farmers just what activities the season merits. To reveal this calendar system and the agricultural annotations which go with it woud be to relinquish a portion of the awe in which the religious leader is held.

The preceptor likewise knows the Arabic lunar calendar and is the only one able to tell when religious feasts of Arab origin are due. The farmers reckon only by the four seasons, a solar conception which may well antedate either the Roman or the Arabic system. They know, however, about when each activity is due, since they are in the habit of repeating the program every year. and could probably get along as well without the learned assistance of the *fkih* as with it.

241 805

A rough outline of the year's activities follows.

January. In this month the farmers plough their land. (See plate 9.) When this has been finished they sow barley and *shasana*, and later broad beans and lentils.

February. If the bean and lentil sowing has not been finished in January, it continues over into early February. Sometimes it continues until the end of the month.

March. About the first of March the farmers hoe the mountain slopes and sow rye and peas.

April. On the first of April they commence planting the vegetable gardens with potatoes, beans, carrots, turnips, onions, and peppers.

May. This is the month for trees. The farmers dig around the roots, fertilize them with manure, and water them. After the trees have been cared for in this way and pruned, the soil about the grapevines is loosened and fertilized with manure, without water. At this time the grapevines are also pruned.

June. Toward the beginning of June, or sometimes during the last week of May, the farmers reap the *shasana*, lentils, barley, and peas, in the order named. The barley is cut with sickles; the others are pulled up by the roots and laid aside for threshing. After this has been done the farmers irrigate the terraces in which the *shasana*, lentils, peas, and barley have been growing (see plate 9) and plant them with maize. The plants previously reaped are then threshed, first the *shasana*, which is the most susceptible to insect pests and cannot wait, then the lentils and peas, and finally the barley. All this threshing is done with cattle, donkeys, or mules, which are forced to trot around a circular threshing floor. (See plates 10 and 11.) Toward the last of June the rye is cut, and the women thresh it by hitting the heads of the sheaves against sticks held in the hand. It is tabu to thresh rye with cattle, just as rye is never planted by means of domestic animals or the plough. The whole rye complex seems to antedate or at least to be negatively associated with the cattle and plough complex.

623 5) Councils and Tribesmen of Authority: All units under consideration up to now (the three "family" ones and the three "social" ones) have their relationships regulated by councils, which, although bearing different names, have similar and analogous functions. The council of the jma'th must undergo no formality in order to convene, and it has no president, although at times the agreements which it comes to are drawn up in writing. Any male (above the age of puberty) [885] [613] may attend and take part in its deliberations; but the personification of it is embodied in the iziddjifen or headmen of each dharfiqth, and these men together form an authentic and permanent council. This council above all legislates what the jma'th deems necessary, in conformance with custom and its agreements. The assembly itself or its representatives chosen for each particular case[86] make and execute all decisions. It is thus a legislative, consultative and executive body[87]. Its attributes, nonetheless, are constantly limited on the [614] one hand by family law, in the form of reprisals, and on the other by the power of the clan, which tries to keep it from prejudicing neighboring jma'th-s or the clan itself in its external politics. Thus, what it has is an administrative autonomy.

623 This council(s) elects its functionaries, the best defined of 793 which is the fqih of the mosque, who is in charge of leading the 212 prayer and of burial services; he is administrator of mosque property (habus)[88], as well as jural notary and council clerk and secretary. In large councils, however, these jobs may be handled by more or less ignorant tulba (sing. talib)[89], who pompously attribute to themselves 600 the qualifications of qadis. The fqih attended to the resources of the

623 The fqih attended to the resources of the
793 mosque and the necessities of the cult; and the others usually bought
411 arms and ammunition which were lent out in necessary cases.[90] A man thus favored rarely returned his weapon, as the habus was considered to be a "rich widow".[91]

623 The council of the jma'th also maintained agricultural super-
624 visors, usually two who retained this office in perpetuity, even though
312 masters in the art could be called up in necessary instances, such as
242 litigations over other matters.[92]

623 The zealous equality and jealousy of the dharfiqin making up
613 the jma'th were generally responsible for the fact that the latter did not have an individual official representative who presided at meetings or imposed the executive of its decisions; but, at times, when one dharfiqth succeeded in acquiring, through cunning, bravery or money, some degree of preponderance, it generally came to an agreement with the others, and they all designated a representative. After this,
[557] the struggle began between the representative himself, inching his way toward personal power[93], and the jma'th, which was jealous of his
623 attributes and reputation. There were also religious struggles in
578 these minuscule nuclear social units, between, for example, an amrabidh
776 desirous of politico-religious influence and the jma'th, or "power of
792 the laymen", which, through cunning, always knew how to keep him away from the benefits of power, and also excluded him from responsibilities.
623 The representatives took the title which pleased them most, usually shaikh, but they were also known as iziddjifen (sing. aziddjif, literally "head"), or "headmen", and as imqqranen (sing. amqqran, literally "big"), or "big ones". Thus the same anarchy and confusion which we

623 find in the institutions themselves is also found in their names and in those of their representatives.....Very seldom, however, could a single representative impose his own will, and the will was collectively that of the representatives of the dharfiqin. Each representative had a compact group of men behind him to back him up in his decisions, and for this reason the Rifian governmental system was in reality an oligarchic one.[94] Hence the importance of the iziddjifen, which has not diminished even in Spanish times (1935), as the present-day mqaddim, or village headman, is a decorative figure and a confidant of the tribal qa'id, if not a plaything of the iziddjifen, or indeed their servant. It is not rare for interventors (Spanish tribal administrators) to see, on their arrival at a jma'th a representation of this fact, with the men in file and the mqaddim at their head. So far, so good; but this external apparatus is nothing but a masquerade. There is no more than an absurd[95] functionary, the mqaddim, to whom no one pays attention save for a half dozen friends, relatives and the poor, who have only collected together under threats; but it is far more difficult to find the iziddjifen, who continue to meet in their habitual place or do their best to hide in their houses only to reappear after the representatives of the Makhzin (i.e. the interventor and his mkhaznis) have left, in order to smell out the bad news brought by the latter and to look for ways to annul it!

623 621 571 793 The aziddjif or amghar (pl. imgharen), the fqih, the aquwwan and the amarras, or storehouse guardian, are the proper functionaries or notables in a jma'th, an admirable economic organization[96], the administration of which does not cost its members a single cent, for

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the fqih, fed by turn (nubth), receives one-fifth of the yield of the land in habus, the "rich widow"[97], and the others get what falls to them gratuitously. In the amarras or storehouse/silo guardian of the Eastern Rif[98], we see another functionary of the jma'th, who, through the asuqi (25 kilos for 4 mudd, or measurements of barley)[99], was in charge of the preparation and custody of individual silos in fixed places, called ma'ar, which came to represent, for Rifians, the collective storehouses of agadir-s (whence the place name Ajdir, existing in both the tribes of Aith Waryaghar and Igzinnayen) of the Moroccan South[100].

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[623]

The iziddjifen or family heads were the real directing nucleus of the jma'th; and in the clan, the governing body was made up of the imqqranen or "big ones", who habitually met, with legislative and executive functions, in the market. The clan delegates were collectively known as the Aith-(th)arba'in and the meeting itself, the agrau (pl. igrawn), of the tribe. The Aith(th)arba'in were unappealable. Fqih-s and men of law were mediators, collectors or executors.

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The Aith(th)arba'in, however, made the laws, interpreted them, and obliged people to obey them, without discussion, backtalk or subterfuge. This was a true form of popular representation, the powers of which, although they did not emanate directly from the people in many cases, or through a European-style elective system, were indirectly derived from, and with the tacit consent of, their constituents..... It is a rare person who can produce a document which accredits him as a popular (author's italics) representative, either circumstantial or permanent, but, nevertheless, no one with a better title or more

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614 The ("holy" clan of the) Asht 'Aru 'Aisa are descended from Sidi Musa bin Mshish[163], the brother of one of the "poles" of Western Islam, Sidi 'Abd al-Salam bin Mshish, who is buried in the Jbil 'Alam, in the Bni 'Arus of the Jbala. Sidi Musa is buried among the Khmid(?) (unidentifiable).

The principal idea to be extracted from the foregoing is the following: around a principal nucleus consisting of Asht 'Asim, Imzdurar and Asht Marar[164], clans which are known to and recognized by all the Igzinnayen, there came over the course of time an infinite number of lineages originating from very diverse points of northern Morocco; and these lineages intermingled with the above. Their motives for so doing varied between hunger and war. They were brought to the Rif either because there was no room for them elsewhere or because the possibilities of living well there attracted them.....It is probably necessary to look for their origins in regions which are particularly barren and unproductive, such as the Khuld of Huwara or the northern part of the Angad Plain, in the case of elements from the Aith Bu Yihyi; the Tafrata for the Ahl Rashida, the clayey hills of Mtalsa, and, in general, all the places more or less bordering the Mulwiya River, which, even if they are by no means paradises, are at least hospitable (sic)[165].

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871 3) Qur'anic Instruction: --This is organized in exactly the same way as it is among the Rifian tribes in the Spanish Zone, and is largely beyond the control of the Administration....There is
[193] usually a school in each village, the fqih of which is paid annually and in kind by its inhabitants. Instruction is carried out almost

623 793 411 421 423 91--The comparison which Blanco makes here of the institution of habus to a rich widow is a challenging one; for after land has been donated to a mosque as habus, the question of who works it is resolved by the nadhir l-ahbas, or habus property administrator, of which there is one, at present, in each province of Morocco (with a central Ministry of Habus in Rabat). He goes to the tribal markets periodically and, through the market crier, auctions it off to the highest bidder, who in turn receives all the harvest for his own use. This system is in vogue at present and was also current during Spanish times. During the "Ripublik", however, in the days before there was a nadhir l-ahbas, the members of the jma'th concerned worked habus land, and, after selling the harvest, used the profits to buy mats for the mosque. Sometimes, also, the jma'th would designate a poor man to work habus land for a fixed share of the field (usually one-fifth or one-fourth), though this was not as common as the preceding arrangement.

000 [114] 92--Blanco is mistaken here, as there was, and still is, only one agricultural-irrigational expert, the aquwwam, whose judgment is generally sought in disputes over irrigation water.

[114] 93--Again in this instance one can detect the influence on Blanco of Robert Montagne, who devotes the whole last third of his book (Montagne, op. cit., 1930) to the "rise to personal power" of the three Grand Qa'ids (the Glawi, the Mtuggi and the Guntafi) in the Western Atlas, and cites the rise of 'Abd al-Krim in the Rif as a parallel case. Under the French, the Glawi soon eclipsed his two competitors to become a single "Lord of the Western Atlas", as well as Pasha of Marrakesh; while it was the presence of the Spaniards in the Eastern Rif which produced the Rifian "national" leader, 'Abd al-Krim. Montagne's argument for a kind of unidirectional political evolution, from the nameless members of a village council, in the middle and latter half of the 19th century, through to nationally known tribal or regional leaders' through a continuous scramble-for-power process of "top-dog-ism", is a very persuasive one. Whatever objections one may have to it, it is likely to remain the argument for a long time to come--because today, in the 1960's, the facts of the matter have become almost impossible to (re-)check; and the old men who remember such things are now all dead or dying off.

[613] 94--"Government by the few": possibly, if the lineage or clan headman can be so designated. However, each lineage head was in reality little more than a primus inter pares, and anyone who attained clan-wide recognition was just that much more primus. Once again we are faced with how badly the European shoe fits the Berber foot.

95--The Spanish original is absurdo.

96--The jma'th is not just an economic organism or organization, but a group of people, the majority of whom are genealogically related to each other, living together in a hamlet or village which bears its own name and forms a member group in a segmentally organized system of such jma'th-s, all of which belong to a territorial or segmental unit of a higher order. Relationships between member jma'th-s of the same order of segmentation are at once economic, social, political, legal, and religious.

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423 11) Estate: The rural estate must be considered as being formed by the funds and property which the members of the jma'th looked after and which are mentioned in Section (5) above, and those which they used in common, such as lands and fruit trees, water, brushwood, pasturage, etc., (all) comprising the patrimony of the jma'th, given the fact that all of these were administered freely by the latter, and that they originated in it and invested in it, although toward different means and ends, as we shall try to show.

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793 a) Worship: The attentions to worship, in any tribe, presented two aspects which were cared for in different ways. One was that regarding all pertaining to the mosque as a building, dhamzyidha (construction, repairs and maintenance), and the other was that of the personage who officiated within it: the fqih. The re-
[423] sources on which both depended had the same origin: the intangible patrimony of the mosque formed by voluntary donations of well-to-do and pious individuals, consisting of lands and fruit trees, the working of which through leasing and the acquisition of graves in the vicinity of the mosque constituted its income.

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[429] The administration of these properties was the job of
[251] a lay member of the community, who was nominated by it and to which he had to account. The storeroom for grain was the ghurfa (Rif. ghwarfth), the second story, or any other room of the dhamzyidha or mosque, the key of which was kept by the mqaddim just mentioned, while the fiqh was its guard.

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621 When plowing-time arrived, the patrimony was leased at a meeting of the jma'th, and when it was time for the harvest, each

A, [See p. 183--Analyst]

person took to the storeroom the share of grain which had been allotted to him.

The fqih was contracted and paid through this share of grain. The mqaddim's job was gratuitous and was reduced to the acquisition of mats, lighting, buckets, brooms, small repairs, the storing of the harvest and the payment of the fqih, with due notice given to the jma'th. For other expenses, such as additions and improvements on the building, etc., there had to be prior agreement on the part of the jma'th, i.e. acceptance of these matters by the various lineage heads.

From this simple mechanism and the character of these properties resulted their scrupulous and austere administration by lay tribesmen (author's italics), which any other procedure would have been hard put to surpass. The result was that not only were the summary needs of this sort, today unsettled, catered to, but that it was rare to find a mosque which did not possess surplus stores good for five or six years. Hence this constituted a true estate, a localistic tie which everyone voluntarily tried to improve and which today it is possible that we (i.e. the Spanish administration) have disrupted.

It has been said that our (i.e. the Spanish) occupation and action have forced the discovery and have focused upon habus (religious and/or charitable endowment) properties which were either hidden or were on the point of disappearance. In the (tribal) countryside, this is either an error or an infantilism. Not only have we (the administration) discovered nothing of the sort, but we have confused things a great deal, as anyone who reads this paper, or rather, anyone

c) Instruction: The maintenance of expenses relating to education fell and fall, independently of the above, on the members of the jma'th who, in turn, must provide the fqih with his meals, while his contract, as we have seen, depends, on the other hand, on religious property[14].

The gratuitous character of the representative jobs, such as the iziddjifen, and the eternal need to be prepared adequately for distinguished visitors (tribal authorities, personages of political, economic or religious significance, harka-s passing through, etc.) made it mandatory that the expenses incurred through the feeding of visitors (difa or diyafa, or, more commonly in the Rif, muna) be shared equally by the members of the jma'th or that they be levied by the iziddjifen at so much per head. To this end they also used to prepare reserves set aside from the harvest reaped in common from the jma'th lands as of that taken in from the leasing of these same lands, funds from which were also applied or set aside for the repair of irrigation ditches or for any other communal need which the jma'th agreed had to be satisfied. Even today this custom continues, and the ziyara donations to members of holy lineages, once the harvest is in, are effected in this fashion, with the crop taken in from a plot of land held for this purpose. Such a plot, in some jma'ath, is usually entrusted to a fqir (member of a religious order) of the jma'th (in question), who must convoke its members to plow and harvest it. For these individuals,

14--In our own experience, both the meals of the fqih and his annual remuneration in barley depend entirely upon the resources of the members of the jma'th concerned. No doubt, however, if his annual stipend in barley can be integrally extracted from religious land (such as habus), so much the better, and nobody is the loser.

671 which the Rifians are deeply attached, and their attempts to codify it,
[797] in spite of Islamic law?...We are faced with the hypothesis that in
[177] times past their conversion to Islam was not complete, a situation
analogous to that prevailing in other Berber-speaking regions. Louis
671 Milliot in 1926 pointed to the survival of Kabyle qanuns in Algeria[5],
648 but in the Rif this is neither the only nor the principal factor, as
there was no long period of peace in the Rif, and the lack of this
experience gave the Spanish administration the option of recognizing
an "area of custom", which in the French Zone was the main reason for
the Berber Dahir of 1930.[6]

671 In the Rif, the main reason for the non-application of Islamic
177 law would seem to lie not so much in the degree of Rifian Islamization
but rather in the constant state of revolt of the area, which would
have rendered regular and dilatory (sic!) Muslim legal procedure in-
efficient or inefficacious. The basic question was far more one of the
impotence of the Rifians themselves in the face of this problem, rather
793 than one of their incompetence. Under these circumstances, we may
794 imagine that fqih-s, tulba and other religious personnel were forced,
177 in order not to die of hunger, to limit themselves to making amulets and
charms for women and to writing up and registering the decisions of the
671 imqqranen, "the Big Ones", the ones who counted. For the same reason,
177 shurfa and imrabdhen were unable to do anything else except resolve
conflicts and dictate sentences, which were up to the parties concerned
000 to accept or not, as they wanted. Where, then, could one have found a
qadi who, conscious of his duty and a disinterested judge of Muslim law,

223 Nests and young birds are not respected, and are taken just as adults are.

224 In the mountains (Jbil) of the Aith Waryaghar, when a hunter (anigmar, pl. inigmarn) going over snow follows the tracks of an animal to a thicket or cave, he walks around it, leaving his footprints and making a circle in order to show that it is his property and that he will explore it on his return. Any other hunter or party respects this. Any animal which falls within the radius of action of the weapon used[68] is the property of whoever killed it.

671 684 b) Personal Law: If a woman accuses someone of dishonest abuse to her person, her testimony is admitted....A woman who is illegally pregnant pays 50 duros from her own property as a fine. If she was forced against her will, and the man who forced her appears, he pays. If she submitted to him willingly, he and she each pay 25 duros[69]. If she has no property, her brothers or male agnates pay[70].

685 695 c) Fine for Theft inside a House: 50 duros. If there is no proof, five adult and trustworthy agnates of the accused must swear to his innocence[71], at least if they have publicly announced in the market not to make themselves jointly liable.

688 793 d) Whoever fails to provide food for the fqih when his turn comes up to do so must pay 2 pesetas[72].

685 231 e) A herdboy who has animals stolen from him while in dhwara[73] must pay for them if he has not seen them stolen. The same holds true for injuries which the animals might suffer....Whoever does not pasture the animals of his jma'th when his turn comes up pays 2 pesetas and one loaf of bread, and has to give a meal to the person who does it for him, or to the jma'th if no one does so.

695 tribal one). To be able to swear, a cojuror had to be old enough to fast during Ramadan (i.e. to have attained puberty); and women did not swear.

The plaintiff had to be present at the mosque (and each tribe or clan generally had at least one mosque at which it was customary to take oath) when the accused and his cojurors arrived. When the latter arrived, they removed their footgear and weapons, as the plaintiff had done before them. Then the fqih of the mosque asked them what they were going to swear; they told him; and he made each one of them repeat it on the mushaf (Koran) after saying the oath formula "Bi-llahi alladhi la ilaha illa huwa!" (With God, of whom there is none other than He), the accused swearing first. The accused placed his right hand on the mushaf while taking oath, and each of his cojurors, in turn, did the same.

There were, however, instances in which the mushaf was not employed as a vehicle for swearing; and some say that these instances were more the rule than the exception, and that in them the oath formula was restricted to "Bi-llah" (With God) only. Others deride the practice and say that it was followed only by "ignorant people"; but, even so, the mere fact of its existence tends to place Rifian oaths at more or less of a midpoint between those in the Sus and Western Atlas, where the mushaf was always, without exception, employed, and those of the Middle and Central Atlases, where it was completely unheard of. It is in the latter areas that Berber oaths in Morocco reached their greatest purity and complexity. However, it should be said that in the Rif, unlike the Central Atlas region, the fqih, if the need demanded, repeated the oath as many times as was necessary for all the cojurors to understand it and say it after him; whereas in the Central Atlas, a different official, the anahkam, only repeated it once (the formula there was, in addition, more complicated than the Rifian one), and if any cojuror tripped up over it or got it wrong, the oath was broken; and the same applied if any of a group of assembled bystanders, whose function it was, in effect, to heckle the cojurors, succeeded in making him falter or stumble over the words, by yelling "'Auh! 'Auh! 'Auh!" (In the Rif, there was no such heckling, even though oaths, for obvious reasons, had to be taken publicly.) A further distinction was that in the Central Atlas, all important oaths were taken not at mosques, but at saints' tombs. There were many other differences in detail as well, such as number of cojurors required for various offenses and in the ramifications of the question of who pays in the event that some cojurors were either recusant or missing; but finally, and perhaps most relevant of all, the oath system in the Rif, encompassing fewer tribes and far less territory than in the Atlas, showed a far greater tribe-to-tribe uniformity.

695 793 212 To return now to the oath itself: after it was taken, the fqih, who had witnessed it, drew up a document (tibriyith, "letter") in Arabic certifying that the defendant, whom he named, had sworn on such and such a date to the effect that he had not committed such and such a crime: he (the fqih) then appended the names of the latter's cojurors, as well as that of the plaintiff. Finally, he gave this document to the defendant so that the latter could produce written evidence of his innocence.

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Recalcitrance toward hospitality--5 pesetas

Disobedience to other agreements of the iziddifen--5 pesetas

Incompletion of contractual obligations to the schoolmaster--2 pesetas

Damages to irrigation ditches--2 pesetas

Damages caused by animals in land just sown--0.50 pesetas

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An examination of this graded scale shows us with evident clarity the importance which the jma'th attributed to acts committed against it, those against property emerging as the gravest and most feared; for the property of the jma'th was its support and sustenance, and its members placed the strongest penalty upon possible theft of its scarce food reserves in order to avoid such temptations.

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The principal obsession of the jma'th as an institution is, then, the defense of its property and the avoidance of agressions among its members (author's italics), whose simple intention (author's italics) it punishes, in order to avoid quarrels.

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Although rudimentary, it aims to fulfill the defensive needs of the whole social unit. It is not warlike, nor is it in the least religious, if we consider the very slight importance which it concedes toward sustenance of the fqih (two pesetas of the fine).[42] It is purely and simply a social unit which places much more importance on the duties of hospitality to guests, for example.[43]

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But it is humane. There are no lashings or mutilations, as instituted by Muslim law, with or without Qur'anic ceremonial; nor is there any deprivation whatsoever of personal liberty in the manner of European codes. Neither is it proud, converting the legislators into demi-gods, thanks to immunities and other profits....It aids them to

Paragraph h shows us the guarantee of keeping the principal religious services (funerals, etc.) and of keeping their sons educated in the faith. Today, under a different pretext, it is not uncommon to observe someone pretending to reject with disdain such a traditional obligation, for which he must not claim protection. The reason for this, rather than being rooted in irreligiosity, must be sought in possible antagonisms with the fqih.

Paragraph i conditions the obligation of fulfilling the agreements with certain legalities: that so many individuals be present at the meeting, and that they be useful and not prejudicial. They are, thus, the colegislators, working freely and without limitation, without dependence on anyone. It urges obedience.

Paragraph j recommends obedience to the shaikh.

In summation: this beautiful qanun of a jma'th establishes who are the iziddifen or council-members, and what their attributes are: to establish statutes regarding damages to crops, education and hospitality, but not to concern themselves with murder, woundings and homicide, an affair of the clan, nor with personal status, a religious matter. In the internal struggle within the jma'th, if, indeed, the iziddifen consent and delegate the execution of their decisions to a representative (the shaikh) to whom they accord circumstantial rewards, at the same time, jealous of their prerogatives, they free themselves very easily from authorizing him to contrive misdemeanors and penalties for these.

Thus the shaikh, in reality, is only the guardian of the community.

346 794 The religious function of the mosque is by no means its most important. It also serves as the location for the Koranic school which as recently as ten years ago was the only sort of education provided for the children of the fellah. In areas where population density is high, the government has set up secular schools [658] [178] which all but replace the Koranic education. The mosque is also used as the place for public assembly of the community.

The mosque is built and kept in repair by the men of the community either through their own labor or through subscription to hire a professional master builder. The property belongs to 346 794 the mosque, generally from specific inheritance provisions. Many 423 larger property owners wishing to pave their way to paradise by [425] some act on earth will donate property to religious organizations. [782] Crops are grown on this bequested territory which serve to meet [241] some of the expenses of the religious man in charge of the mosque.

793 The mosque is presided over by a fqih, a learned man who [212] has had Koranic education and knows how to read and write Arabic. [794] He delivers the weekly sermon and provides lessons to the youth in Koranic education. It is the obligation of every married man 793 794 within the area served by the mosque to make an annual donation 465 to the mosque to provide for the fqih. The amount, while generally the same for all family heads, is not permanently fixed and can be adjusted according to how good or bad the crop yield was from the preceding year. In the year I was present the community assembly assessed a total of 25 kilos of barley to each man. The fqih also receives weekly donations of eggs from his

793 794 465 students, as well as the revenue that accrues from the property owned by the mosque. He also receives cash or kind for his services as the magical advisor for the community, a service which I shall discuss below.

754 789 In a land in which there is so much witchcraft, it is not surprising to find a great deal of ritual being used to evoke charms and spells. As Westermarck demonstrated in innumerable works, magic permeates almost all social behavior in Morocco. There are two types of magical specialists in Rif society. One is the fqih who has magical powers because of his knowledge of the Koran and the belief that magical powers are embodied in the Book. The other specialists are the female witches whose magic is supposed to derive from their lore passed on from mother to daughter. Not all women are regarded as witches although the female quality is believed to have magical potency. This potency is thought to increase with age and old women are universally treated with respect, partially out of fear of their magical powers. Men of an elderly age are not so regarded.

791 754 [793] [789] 754 791 562 [888]

754 791 789 793 The two classes of sorcerer use different magical techniques. The fqih disperses charms and spells by writing passages from the Koran on a piece of paper which thus has magical qualities. The witches have a more varied inventory consisting of herbs and roots (poisonous or otherwise), stones, pieces of wood from holy trees, small dead animals and the like. The services of both are called upon often and it is not uncommon to have witches set up booths in the open weekly market to hawk their

[443]

754 791 789 793 443 wares in public, while the fqihs are busily selling their charms in the seclusion of the tea and hashish shops that ring the same market.

To the best of my knowledge Justinard was the first to describe the phenomenon in the Rif:

> Les Rifains croient beaucoup aux amulettes et aux sortilèges, aux pratiques occultes qui servent à nuire à un ennemi, à le faire mourir, à forcer l'amour, à obtenir une guérison. C'est surtout l'affaire des Telbas [fqih] et des vieilles femmes (1926:57).

791 754 789 435 The costs of the services of such magical specialists vary with the seriousness of the difficulty. Women generally pay in kind since they have such meager resources at their disposal. Men usually pay cash. A love potion may cost no more than a liter of olive oil or a dime. Prolonged medical healing may [755] require several thousand dirhams and accommodation for the sorcerer in food and lodging over a lengthy period of time. One [755] of my informants kept a pair of magicians in his house for six months in an attempt to restore his mother's eyesight. Another informant, a woman who herself was regarded as having supernatural power, estimated that she had spent the equivalent of fifty dollars over a decade to ward off various evil eyes. The [554] magicians of the Rif are, however, not known for their potency and for special problems, magicians or holy men are imported from the Ghomara or the Sus.

[755] 000 As can be seen from the above, much magic is devoted to curing illness. Most sickness is attributed to evil spirits,

754 and one can get it not only from people who dislike you but from
[152] people who love you. The eye is thought to most often result from jealousy, and one of the social mechanisms for constraining hubris is that pride over secular success will bring disaster upon the individual.

754 556 152 The fear of the evil eye runs counter to another major principle in the Rif, the conspicuous display of prosperity as a mechanism to increase prestige. The balance between avoiding jealousy and being successful is rather difficult to maintain. In any economic action the aspect of success has a countervailing feature of disaster. Although the evil eye resembles the dinoun
[753] [776] in that it conveys the same sort of misfortune in the form of death and disease, there is one critical difference. The dinoun is regarded as an independent agent operating of its own volition, while the evil eye operates through a specific human agent.
[578] The evil eye is the more dangerous of the two because it increases friction within the community between families or within the same family. The incentive to earn profit is curbed by the fear of attracting misfortune through the evil eye. One man who had set up a small store to sell tea, oil, sugar, and the like, dressed his children in increasingly scruffy clothing in order that his economic success would not attract envy.

751 Aside from the avoidance patterns caused by the evil eye, amulets are considered particularly efficacious as a protective
[793] [435] device. The amulets are generally prepared by the fqih, who inscribes them with sayings from the Koran. Prices for these